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A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
C O C O A - T R E E.
From a W H I G.

The T H I R D E D I T I O N.

From the natural tendency of several principles and practices, that have of late been studiously revived, and *from what has followed thereupon*, I could not help both fearing and presaging, that these nations would some time or other fall into the way of all other nations, and *lose* their LIBERTY.

Preface to Bp. Fleetwood's four Sermons.

L O N D O N:
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 309

LECTURE NOTES

BY

PROFESSOR

OF PHYSICS

CHICAGO, ILL.

conclusion of a protest formerly made in a certain great assembly ;

“ Under this Royal Family alone, we are fully convinced we
“ CAN live FREE ; and under this Royal Family, we are fully
“ determined, we WILL live FREE.”

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Dec. 6, 1762.

Your most humble Servant,

A W H I G.

G.

1875

Received of the Treasurer of the State of New York
the sum of \$1000.00

for the purchase of land for the State of New York
in the County of Albany

in full of the sum of \$1000.00

paid by the State of New York

to the Treasurer of the State of New York

for the purchase of land for the State of New York

in the County of Albany

in full of the sum of \$1000.00

paid by the State of New York



A N

A D D R E S S

TO THE

C O C O A - T R E E.

GENTLEMEN,



HAVE read with due attention the manifesto, which you have been pleased to publish, and to address to the country gentlemen, for the direction of their future conduct and engagements. As you seem to think them under your influence, you acted prudently, and kindly, in giving them a direction, where to follow you.

I will not diminish the amusing idea of your present consequence, which you raise in their minds, and have perhaps ad-

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mitted into yours. But I shall endeavour to convince both you and them, that you have misrepresented, or at least mistaken, the conduct of the WHIGS, as well as your own. In doing this, I shall presume the letter, which is dated from your head-quarters, to be yours, it having hitherto not been disavowed by you.

Your capital complaint is, that an opposition is forming against the measures of government, which you interpret to be a personal dislike to ministers, and rather think it a formed design against his Majesty's independency and prerogative.

Whoever looks into the history of the two last reigns, will smile to hear you complain of opposition. But I leave the ridicule to others, and admit, that the present opposition is partly grounded in a *personal* dislike to a minister. You have had such dislikes formerly, and were much displeas'd with those, who censur'd them. Give us leave to account for ours, before you quite shut up our mouths with the *independency* and *prerogative* of the crown.

You attribute the whole of the opposition to three very great names. I must differ from you in this, as a matter of fact. The present opposition is known to spread through the whole kingdom, I had almost said, through the united kingdom, and existed in the minds of the people, before the first of the persons you hint at retired from business, before the second was banished from court, and before it was suggested, that the third would openly patronise the cause, which has been the support of his illustrious house on the throne.

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You assign motives to the conduct of those three great persons, which you have no right to assign, and which it differs not many degrees from treason to impute to One of them. It is needless to confute slanders, which no one believes, or to express the contempt, which every man feels, at seeing the weapons of party so miserably handled.

If I apprehend you right, gentlemen, the doctrine, upon which your letter is founded, is this, " That the King having a right to appoint his ministers, the people have no right to oppose them." If this be not your doctrine, then all you say of prerogative, and indeed the whole of your letter, is foreign to the purpose. I rather believe it to be your meaning, because we hear the same language from the other advocates of the present ministry.

Permit me to extract a different doctrine from WHIG principles. WE apprehended, that the pretension of a minister to his power should be *Natural, Constitutional, Gently asserted, and Generally admitted*. If he fails in all these respects, we apprehend the prerogative of the crown to be no shelter from the warmest opposition, which a free people may constitutionally form against such a minister. This has been invariably the doctrine of WHIGGISM; and an opposition is forming to the present m-----r, upon no other motive, than that he is supposed to be defective in each of those qualifications.

You are sensible, that he has not till lately been known to us. I affirm it, without laying much stress upon the place of his birth.

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The national reflections, which have been thrown out on this account, seem to have borne no more ill will towards the natives of North Britain, than might be expected at a time, when one of them was so suddenly and highly exalted, probably against the secret wishes of the wisest among his own countrymen. They doubtless knew, that their interests would have been better managed, by leaving to the cool and insensible operation of time, the difficult work of eradicating national prejudices; and if they had been consulted, they would have thought it sufficient to see the government of their part of the island in their own hands, and to see lucrative and honourable posts among us distributed, as they have been by WHIG ministers, almost indiscriminately to Britons in general. They could not advise him to grasp at the whole, in spite of popular prejudices, whilst those prejudices did not molest them in the enjoyment of a considerable part, nor him in being a principal figure among the glittering ornaments of the drawing room.

Indeed it is highly probable, that if they had nominated a minister, from among their own countrymen, they would not have made election of this noble person for the purpose; partly, because they might have been disposed to prefer others before him in their own esteem; and partly, because it happens to be a misfortune to his present pretensions, that we cannot trace a single drop of English blood in his famous genealogy; that he is so radically Scottish, that none of the ancient families of that kingdom can boast of a more unmixed extraction. The prudent and thoughtful part of his countrymen could not desire to see a person at the helm, whose first appearance there would revive the old
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and almost exploded jealousies. It has in fact revived them. They will be alive and active throughout his administration ; and tho' they may subside, after that is expired, it will require some time, to bring back both parts of the united kingdom to that degree of mutual affection, to which they were advanced at the commencement of the present reign.

But the WHIGS do not rest their opposition upon this, for they have more solid objections to him, as a minister. He has no natural interest in SOUTH Britain, that is, he has no popularity of character ; he is not distinguished by his zeal for the prevailing and constitutional party principles, nor recommended by long and acknowledged services.

The want of popularity, tho' not disgraceful in itself, for it may in other men be consistent with a good private character, is a strong exception against HIM. An unpopular minister has not the principal thing necessary towards his stability in a free country, *the confidence of the people*. He has not the motives, which popular men have, to guard the public liberty, and administer *constitutional* advice to the crown.

The WHIGS therefore naturally dislike him ; for WHIGGISM is a popular principle. The great object of it is the liberty of the people, for which monarchy and legislature are established. A KNOWN WHIG will of course enjoy popularity ; he will not flatter the King with more *independency* and *prerogative*, than he really has ; he will sooner chuse to retire from court. But such a conduct is not expected from a minister, who has no obligation

to the people, who has received from them many marks of dislike, and may be supposed to value himself upon the firmness, with which he despises the voice of the people.

I appeal to you, gentlemen of the Cocoa Tree, whether you have not made this an objection to One minister at least. You thought him improper for the office, because he was unpopular. Was it so heinous a guilt, to have maintained this obvious truth heretofore, that you cannot expiate it, without supporting *two* unpopular ministers now? I know, that some of you are more consistent; it is to the inconsistent ones, that I address myself. Do they do them no injustice in affirming, that they opposed a minister, partly from being unpopular, and that they are now enlisted under the banners of the *same* minister, in support of another, who is likewise unpopular.

But this is only one objection to the noble L--d. How has he distinguished himself by party principles? *Your* zealous attachment to him, the present revival of *Tory-Maxims*, and indeed the whole *foundation* of his power, will answer the question.

You have been wandering about, gentlemen, for some years past, in search of a minister, under whom you might recover your importance, without giving up the absurdities of your ancestors. The general decay of your party reduced you to this vagrant state. You found a disposition in the WHIGS, to receive you amicably. But still they were WHIGS, and gave you no

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hopes to become the predominant party. You tried a new expedient, and pretended that the distinction no longer existed.

The late great minister received you upon that pretence, knowing, that *his* connexion with you could excite no jealousies. To him it was matter indifferent, what you professed, as the credit of serving your country was all you could then gain. You have been now admitted into confidence by another minister, whose credit was feeble among the WHIGS, and to whose power your notions became significant. You gave them vent, when you were thus far advanced.

Monarchy was now said to be INDEPENDENT, which is only another word for UNLIMITED. The power of the King over his people was compared to that of a private gentleman over his family. *Filmer* did not maintain it more absolutely, than it has been maintained of late. But *Filmer* maintained it at a time, when great part of the nation knew no better. We are now so well acquainted with our rights, that we cannot give them up for big-sounding words or flimsy arguments. We honour the King; we both love and honour the present King; but we dislike the m-----r, whose existence depends upon TORIES and TORY-MAXIMS.

I say this, gentlemen, without meaning any personal insult upon you, many of whom I know to be very respectable. If you had not all your views gratified under former ministers, it now appears, why they kept you at some distance. They could not dig up and destroy the principles, upon which the revolution

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was built. You continued, as you boast, *steady* and *uniform*. If any man was convinced of his error, and left you, you stigmatized him as one, who had betrayed his party. Were I disposed to offend you, I should say, that possibly he had nothing but treason to betray. This rendered it difficult for Whig ministers to reconcile you so effectually, as it was their interest and wish to do.

And can you blame the Whigs for suspecting a new m-----r, on account of your attachment to him, at a time, when you profess the principles, which were the only bar between them and you? They might say, and are probably still ready to say, with *Piso* to his soldiers, in *Tacitus*, “ *Provinde a nobis donativum ob fidem, quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.*”

Do not therefore charge the Whigs with an immoderate passion for places, at the time when they are resigning them. Charge them, if you please, with party zeal, when they are sacrificing their power and interest to party principles. But remember, that the principles, for which they struggle, are the foundation of our present government, which they apprehend to be undermined, whenever TORY-MAXIMS are openly avowed, and, to use your own words, “ it is wisdom to foresee such danger; “ it is courage to meet it in its approach; it is our duty to die or to repel it.”

But if you, gentlemen, and your hereditary doctrines, had been out of the question, yet the WHIGS could not fail to dislike the present minister for the foundation, upon which he builds his
power.

power. They cannot admit a minister to be a servant of the KING alone. He is the servant of the NATION too, for he is accountable to the nation as well as to the King. Former ministers have confessed this, by the attention they have paid to the opinion and good will of the nation, not merely of our representatives in parliament, but of the people of Great-Britain in general, who do not cease to be a considerable body, even after they are represented.

The WHIGS are far from disputing the legality of the power, that raised the present m-----r to an eminence, which has, in his case, very much the appearance of a precipice. They only mean to persevere in affirming and manifesting, that he is not a minister with their approbation. They might account for it, by declaring very truly, in the most fair and candid way, that THEY DO NOT KNOW HIM. Let him produce his pretension, if he has any other, to be at the head of the subjects of this kingdom, than the FAVOUR of the KING.

As there never was a better King, than the present, his favour does honour to the man, who enjoys it. But the WHIGS will not dissemble their sentiments under the BEST KING. It is their birthright to say; that, however honourable such a pretension may be, they dislike it, *when standing by itself*; they are JEALOUS of it.

Nor do they in this extend their liberty beyond constitutional bounds. They know both the crime and the folly of invading the *real* power of the crown, and have given too many evidences

of their loyalty, justly to incur the suspicion of such a design. It appears to them sufficient cause of jealousy, to see the favour of the crown the only support of him, who directs the executive part of government; and whenever this happens to be the case, they apprehend, that, if we are in any respect more free, than the subjects of other monarchies, we have a right to declare a jealousy so founded.

The administration of a mere favourite tends, in its own nature, to reduce the people to absolute insignificance. This is the best of the bad effects, to which it tends; without effecting this, it cannot long subsist. And what may be apprehended from a state of absolute insignificance in the people, I forbear to explain, in the reign of a prince, who has, and we hope will continue to have, our intire confidence.

Possibly the m-----r, whom you are defending so *unconstitutionally*, may have no designs, at present, against our liberties. It is common for well-meaning men to be misled, by the too eager prosecution of their views, into measures, which they did not originally approve; and if ever wrong measures may be apprehended, without injury to the character of a m-----r, it is, when the People and He are at variance.

This appears to be a much more serious objection to Him, than those, which have been drawn from his native country, or from his supposed inexperience in business; for this affects us *immediately* and *vitaly*. We are no longer the great people we have been, if we must acquiesce in the almost unlimited power
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of a fellow subject over us, who has no natural interest among us.

The m-----r himself can hardly fail to see the force and full extent of this CONSTITUTIONAL language. It is much to be lamented, that he did not perceive the WHIG objections to him somewhat earlier; for they have rather gained strength by the progress and exercise of his office; unless you will convince the nation, that he was applauded by the nobles, the senate, and the people of England, when he first exhibited himself as the FAVOURITE m-----r.

It might have become you better, gentlemen, to have recommended him to your country friends, by pleading his services, than to triumph in the unconstitutional aspect of his power. But here you were not a little embarrassed. You and they were sensible, that his services are not of a long date, and by your own confession they are not many. He did not profess to be the *sole* m-----r, before Mr. PITT resigned. The conquest of *Martinique* had been planned by that gentleman; and we are very ready to yield to his successor the merit of permitting a fleet to sail, which had been destined and prepared for so important a service, by *another* minister.

The loss and recovery of *Newfoundland* and the conquest of the *Havannah* have happened under the present administration. The merit of the recovery of *Newfoundland* is much weakened by the antecedent loss of it. If any merit be claimed from the recovery, the world will suspect, that it was lost with a view to
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that merit. It may be most agreeable to truth, to acquit the minister of both.

You have told us, to whom to ascribe the merit of the reduction of the *Havannah*; and as you have no-partiality to the Prince of the Blood, whose advice secured the success of that expedition, we are happy in taking your word for the fact.

The present m-----y, you say, designed it. There was no difficulty in discovering where the power of Spain was most vulnerable; for every merchant in London knew, that the *Havannah* was the key to the Spanish West-Indies. So far the merit of designing the expedition was inconsiderable.

But there appears to have been extreme difficulty in striking the blow and giving the wound. Uncommon spirit and perseverance were requisite, and you, who doubtless know the truth, affirm, that the best judge of military merit in this kingdom recommended a commander in chief and other officers, who were distinguished by uncommon spirit and perseverance.

So that the whole of the present m-----r's services is hitherto comprised in a short space of time, and in a very narrow compass; for we know of no service he could do us, nor of any experience he could gain, when his great talents were concealed in a place of no business, at a subordinate court.

He has indeed produced a peace. That work is said to be wholly His. “ Nihil sibi ex istâ laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit ;” and I apprehend, there is hardly one among his constitutional enemies, who envies him that work.

These, gentlemen, are the reasons for the present opposition. The m-----r stands unrecommended to the WHIGS, by his natural interest, and by his actual services; and he is obnoxious to them for being supposed to have adopted the maxims of the TORIES; those maxims, which TORIES contradict and counteract, when they are *out* of power, and which the WHIGS have invariably condemned, whether *in* power or *out*.

Upon this state of the matter, I defy the utmost sagacity of his warmest advocates, to discover any thing, except the Royal Favour, that gives this noble person a pretension to rule over us, in preference to men, who have an undoubted natural interest, who have the only constitutional party interest, who can boast, with the testimony of the world in their favour, of long and faithful services, and who therefore enjoy the CONFIDENCE of the NATION.

You have assigned other motives for the opposition, but they are only such, as anger will always suggest, when men are ripe for invective. They are not indeed mere inventions; for you, who are in the secret of affairs, know the private injuries, of which the Whigs have cause to complain, tho' their complaints are all of a public nature.

YOUR FAVORITE minister, conscious of the infirmity of his pretensions, has not asserted, nor conducted his power with the gentleness, which prudence would have dictated to a new minister, better circumstanced. He was so much in haste to be the SOLE minister, that he took not the time necessary, to avail himself of the experience of other men, or to strengthen himself by their friendship.

Every man of consequence, who has services, or abilities, or character, to recommend him to the King and people, was naturally obnoxious to One, who desired to be at the head of affairs, without the formality of raising himself by services or abilities.

I need not remind you, gentlemen, of facts, which you know so perfectly well. You could answer the questions, without much recollection, were I to ask you, in the order of time;

What is become of One, whom you know to be eminently qualified for the station he filled, but who was so intractable, that he could not be prevailed with, by *any* menaces, to give up his own honour, by betraying a local interest of the WHIGS?

Why another gentleman, whom you so justly revered, was provoked to resign, by the opposition he met with to a measure, which he thought *necessary*, and which was adopted as *unavoidable*, soon after his retirement?

What could induce a third, who had served in both the late reigns, with a most disinterested fidelity, to resign, at a time, when

when his friends adhere to him in a manner, which seems to astonish you, and when you confess his activity not to be impaired by age?

Why a fourth, whose name has ever been dear to the WHIGS, whose manners are too gentle to give offence, was——

But I will not proceed. You are so vigilant and zealous, that I would not utter a word, which might bear too free a construction. We know, who it is that can do wrong; and the nation has not been misled; to impute any thing wrong to HIM. It is all understood to proceed from another hand, against which the whole discontent of the public is directed.

Can you be insensible, that the voice of the people is *loud*, and almost *united* at this time? And are your notions of monarchy so high, as to incline you to think the whole nation made for a MINISTER? This would be improving upon your ancestors, who only thought the nation made for the KING. Do not impute it to our envy of the figure and power, to which you aspire, if we continue to differ from your opinion, as well as that of your ancestors.

Having thus far justified the conduct of the WHIGS, give me leave, gentlemen, to add a few observations upon YOUR conduct.

You talk much of *Majesty* and *Prerogative*. If this had been always your language, how many bitter efforts of opposition might have been spared for fifty years past! How much more peaceable

peaceable might have been the reign of our late Sovereign! How much more peaceably might his ashes rest at this time! For even the WHIGS are so well affected to monarchy, that they lament to hear the reproaches thrown out upon his memory.

Did you recollect the independency of the crown, when you opposed his ministers? Was not prerogative checked and pared? And were not the WHIGS, at that time, necessary guardians of it, against the intemperance of your opposition? I will not ask you, how vigorous an opposition you made to the unnatural rebellion against him.

Wherein did he provoke you, to lay aside the doctrine of your fathers, which you have now brought forth, quite rusty, for the use of the present m---r? The late King had been educated in a country, where his family was despotic; but Here He was a friend to liberty; and, knowing, what principles had raised his illustrious house to the throne, he confided in the WHIGS; and treated you with a moderation, which seemed to bid fair for a coalition of parties. He made you ashamed of the distinction. You disfavoured it in a manner, which persuaded us you were earnest, till you thought fit to separate from us again after his death.

If you bear any ill will to his memory, treat him at least, as you think KINGS ought to be treated; and do not, for his sake, insult and vilify his beloved surviving son. Do not, for your own sakes, describe that Prince, as a *spirit which delighteth in blood*. Surely this is not *now* the language of the *Cocoa Tree*. If it be,
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then party is rekindled to an alarming degree. It was the language heretofore of those, who were disappointed at CULLODEN; and has been disused, till it escaped from the pen of your writer, I hope inadvertently, and without your approbation. The character of that great Prince cannot be hurt by the insinuation; but the reader will be led by it to form strange ideas of you, and will be at a loss to know, by what kind of professions you intend to make your court.

And with respect to ministers; permit me to ask you, had not the ministers of the late King at least as constitutional pretensions to their power, as any you can assign to the present minister? Why then did you esteem it necessary to oppose them, for many years, in every measure, with a professed design to snatch the power from their hands; which had been intrusted to them by their royal master?

We have heard much alledged of their corruption. I will not enter either into the fact, or into the known causes of it. But wherein did you principally place their corruption? To the best of my memory, you made an outcry about places and pensions, till placemen and pensioners were almost ashamed of their daily bread. Let me beg you to compare the present list of places and pensions, with that, which existed in the time of the minister, whom you most vehemently opposed, as the grand corrupter. Without doubt the present minister has reasons for his conduct, which perfectly satisfy you. We have heard of one pension, be-
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flowed upon an ingenious writer, which probably has not given you offence.

Gentlemen, let us treat each other with temper, and consider our mutual conduct with a becoming candour. We are willing to suppose, that you have no thoughts of ambition; that you mean only the honour of the crown, and fully intend to shew yourselves more disinterested, than they were, who enjoyed his late Majesty's favour. Give the WHIGS leave to mean only the good of the King and the people, and allow their leaders to be at least as disinterested as You. They are voluntarily resigning places of power and profit. You seem disposed to be as voluntary in accepting them.

Indeed if places could have been purchased by extraordinary services, you would have had a fair claim in the late reign; for you were observed to bid very high, in the latter part of it, when you eagerly concurred in the *German* measures. It is noble and ingenuous in you, to retract your conduct so openly, as soon as those measures cease to be in vogue.

It is your happiness, that you can preserve your integrity unspotted, whilst you take a sudden leap, from one extremity of a measure to another, and from one minister to another.

The great minister, who found it necessary to support the *German* measures, convinced you of their rectitude. He does not appear to have changed his opinion; nor can it be merely his removal

removal from power, that changes yours. It must be some sudden light, that is lately broke in upon your minds.

I well remember, that you boasted of his disinterestedness, and pleaded That, as the ground of your confidence in him. He was indeed disinterested, for he had all the trouble of power, without the pleasure of gratifying his friends. Did you find this inconvenient, gentlemen, that you made so quick a transition from Him to One, who has, at present, an uncontrouled power to gratify any friend?

But whilst I give you joy of your expectations, I will do you the justice to intimate, that they may peradventure be too sanguine. You must have observed, how much your favourite m-----r is alarmed at the suspicions of the WHIGS; what pains he takes, upon every resignation, to fill up the vacancy with a character, or, if that be impracticable, with a *Name*, which may give a WHIG complexion to his adm-----n. He seems to find it difficult to do this; but you have something to apprehend from the mere attempt.

You complain of having been called the dupes of many oppositions. Perhaps the time may come, when you may be exalted higher, and become the dupes of a m-----r. I shall, in that case, think you very ill treated, for your merit is great, in contradicting yourselves, at so small a distance of time; and in deserting the Right Honourable gentleman, in whom you had implicit confidence,

confidence, so lately as the last winter, for whom and his measures you were so zealous, that you were very near forgetting the independency and prerogative of the crown.

Before I take my leave, let me beg of you, gentlemen, for the sake of the King and the nation, and for your own sakes, to publish no more such letters, as your last. The violence of party language is very inflammatory, and you need not be told, that the WHIGS are the majority of the nation. They are ever peaceably disposed; dutiful to the King, zealous for the constitution, and moderate towards the TORIES.

Why should you in the spirit of exultation, provoke them to depart from a temper, which you have experienced to be gentle. They will not depart from it, without the most extreme necessity. They will continue good neighbours and good subjects. But, whilst they breathe the air of this country, they will endeavour to preserve the liberties of it. They will entertain the same notions of prerogative and liberty, equally in all reigns. When their ideas upon each of those points are quite extinct, then you will have the liberty of triumphing, without an opponent, in the extinction of parties, and that may be the only liberty, and the only triumph, you will then have.

In the mean time, to shew, how remote and chimerical that day appears to us, I will repeat, in the name of the WHIGS, the
 conclusion



